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MELVILLE'S MOCKERY OF FOREIGN WHALERS

BY CORNELIS DE JONG

Herman Melville used many books on whales and whaling in writing »Moby Dick«: some commentators maintain that he pillaged them, but he honestly mentions most of them. Some of his most important sources were the following:

Thomas Beale: *The Natural History of the Sperm Whale ... to Which Is Added a Sketch of a South Sea Whaling Voyage*. London 1839.

Frederick Debell Bennett: *Narrative of a Whaling Voyage Round the Globe from the Year 1833 to 1836*. London 1840.

William Scoresby, Junior: *An Account of the Arctic Regions, with a History and Description of the Northern Whale Fishery*. Two volumes. Edinburgh 1820.

Beale and Bennett were British surgeons on a British whaleship participating in the South Sea fishery. Scoresby was the captain of English whaleships in the Arctic sea from 1810 to 1823. His father, Capt. William Scoresby, Sr., was a pioneer of British Arctic whaling. William Scoresby, junior was himself a conspicuously successful whaler, a devotee of the natural sciences, a historian of European whaling, and a founder of Polar science.

It is remarkable that Melville mocks Scoresby as an author but not Beale or Bennett, though he admits frankly that he owes much to all three. In chapter 32, *Cetology*, he writes of his sources: ... *one of them was a real professional harpooner and whaleman: Captain Scoresby*. This is much praise for Scoresby, though I have not read that he served as a harpooner.

To explain Melville's satire of Scoresby – mild, not bitter – the reader should realize that this mockery had a larger bearing. It concerns: (A) nations who competed with Americans in whaling, (B) his readers, and (C) learned authors such as William Scoresby, jr.

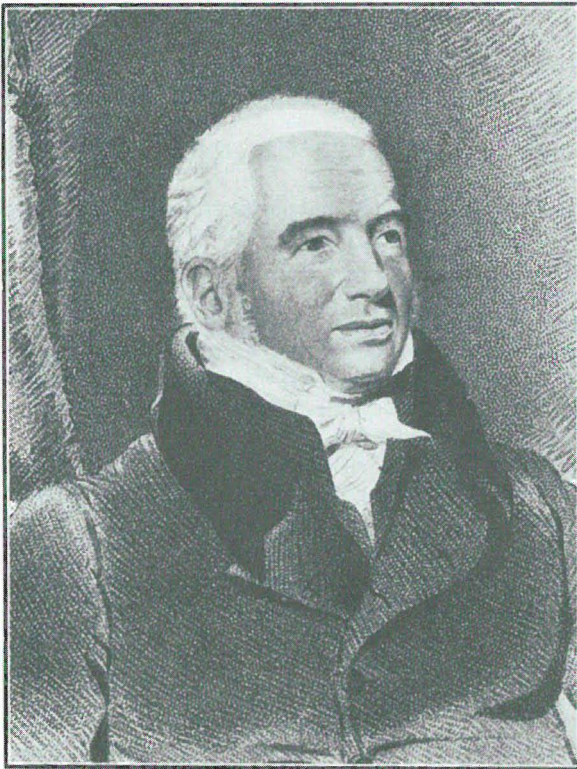
(A). In »Moby Dick« Melville aimed at writing an epic in prose on United States whaling. Therefore he wished to deprecate competing nations benignly. This was not very difficult, for the other nations had much less success in the South Sea fishery than the Americans. The British performed best, according to Melville, the French and Germans much more poorly. The reader should mentally include the Dutch with the Germans as was often done in the United States. Melville ridicules successively, and to an increasing extent, the British whalers (chapter 100, *Leg and Arm*), the French (chapter 91, *The Pequod Meets the Rose Bud*), and the Germans (chapter 81, *The Pequod Meets the Virgin*).

(B). Melville repeatedly interrupts his narrative of Ahab's hunt for Moby Dick – to the wonder of his reader and sometimes to his irritation. In this way Melville gradually increases the tension in his tale and teases his readers. An example of this subtle mockery is chapter 82, *Jonah Historically Regarded*. Here he maintains that Jonah in the whale was the first man who circumnavigated the Cape of Good Hope.

(C). Melville lists as his sources a series of historical, learned men, as well as invented, quasi-learned men with funny names, in which the reader often recognizes Scoresby. Examples of these quacks in cetology are Charley Coffin (chapter 32, *Cetology*), Captain Sleet (chapter 35,

The Masthead), Doctor Zogrande (chapter 65, *The Whale as a Dish*), Fogo von Slack (chapter 92, *Ambergris*), Doctor Snodhead, *a very learned man* (chapter 101, *The Decanter*), and Fitz Swackhammer (chapter 101, *The Decanter*). Melville's mild satire reaches its culmination with the two last mentioned celebrities. Thereafter the seriousness and tension of his narrative grow rapidly and as an able author he silences his mockery.

Why did Melville level a great deal of his satire at Scoresby? Before the reader attempts to identify Melville's quasi learned disguises of Scoresby, he should ask why Melville chose this able whaling captain as the main object of his satire, although he repeatedly quotes him with his proper name as an authority, mostly respectfully (pp. 228, 372, 563, 571), once with criticism (p. 372).¹ And why did his mockery spare Beale and Bennett?



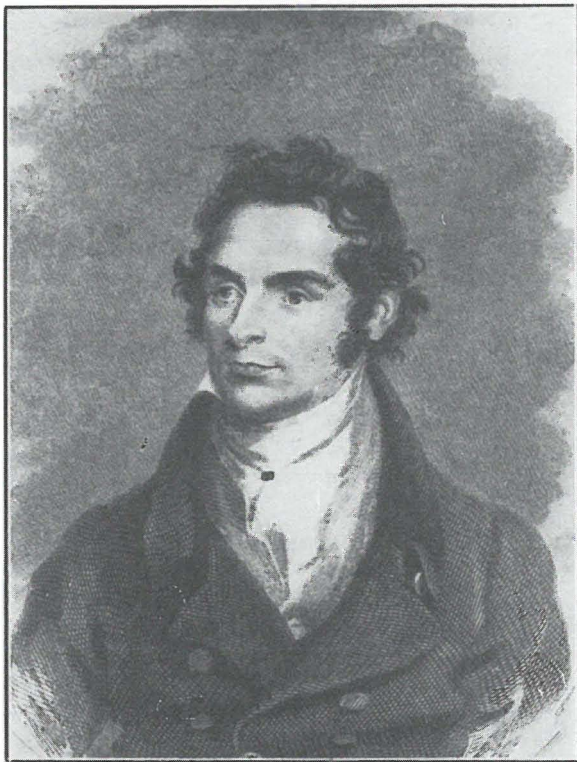
Captain William Scoresby, sen.
From: Basil Lubbock: *The Arctic Whalers*, (Glasgow, 1937; Reprint 1955)

One of the best commentators on »Moby Dick«, H.P. Vincent, in »The Trying Out of Moby Dick«² lists three reasons for Melville's mockery of Scoresby:

(1). Melville intended to write the epic of American whaling, as stated above, and to elevate this dangerous, dirty, and underpaid profession, which was despised by merchant sailors, to a noble craft. Therefore, he had to deprecate the older, and at that time much more reputed, hunt of the Greenland whale (*the Great Whale*, Melville writes) and the most authoritative author of the Arctic fishery, Scoresby. For this reason he proclaims to the credulous among his readers, too emphatically: *Hear ye! good people! the Greenland whale is deposed the Great Sperm Whale now reigneth!* (chapter 32, *Cetology*).

(2). Scoresby wrote mainly about Arctic whaling and little about sperm whaling in the South Seas, in contrast to Beale and Bennett. Scoresby describes sperm whaling in appendix VIII, *Some Account of the Whalefishery Conducted in the Southern Sea*, in volume II of »An Account of the Arctic Regions«, pp. 529–537. Either Melville was not satisfied with this appendix or overlooked it. He writes of Scoresby in chapter 32, *Cetology: On the separate subject of the Greenland or right whale he is the best existing authority. But Scoresby knows nothing and says nothing of the great Sperm Whale, compared with which the Greenland whale is almost unworthy mentioning.*

(3). Scoresby wrote with 19th century seriousness and thoroughness. His major work, »An Account of the Arctic Regions«, in two volumes with 1,100 pages is a classic and a standard



*Captain William Scoresby, jun.
From: Basil Lubbock: The
Arctic Whalers, (Glasgow,
1937; Reprint 1955)*

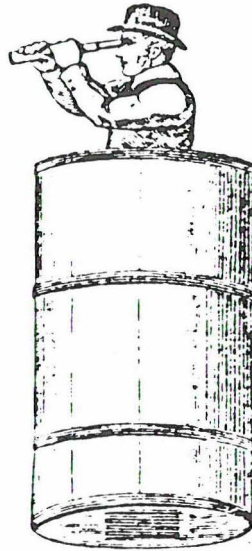
work. However, for laymen and men of literature it is a tedious book. Melville read it attentively and used it for his novel, but as a novelist he apparently wondered how such an experienced whaler and learned man could write such an unimaginative work about such a fascinating subject as whaling. This characteristic of Scoresby also stimulated Melville's inclination to mockery.

The following paragraphs are a supplement and explanation of Vincent's references to foreign whalers in »Moby Dick«.

When »Moby Dick« appeared in 1851 Scoresby was alive and perhaps for this reason Melville spared him and in his mockery of Scoresby chose disguises which the reader can easily see through. In his so called scientific survey of whale species according to the book sizes of folio,

Previous to the time of the elder Captain Scoresby, captains or harpooners on watch, at the mast head, were only protected from the inclemency of the weather by a bit of canvass; but, this being found extremely inconvenient, this gentleman constructed what is technically called "*the Crow's Nest*," which is as simple as ingenious, consisting merely of a species of sentry-box, made of light wood in the shape of a cask, having a seat in the middle, and a species of trap-door in the floor; this is provided with a telescope, a speaking-trumpet, and a signal instrument of this shape, denominated

CROW'S NEST.



Captain William Scoresby's crow's nest for the look out man on whaleships in the Arctic sea. From: Henry William Dewhurst: Natural history of the Order Cetacea and the Oceanic Inhabitants of the Arctic regions, (London 1834)

octavo, and duodecimo (chapter 32, *Cetology*) he parodies Scoresby's biological classification in vol. I, pp. 449 501 of »An Account of the Arctic Regions«.

In regard to the narwhal's tooth, Melville writes in chapter 32: *Charley Coffin said, it was used for an ice piercer*. This is a clear allusion to Scoresby, volume I, p. 492: *It is not improbable that it [the narwhal tooth] may be used in piercing thin ice for the convenience of respiring*. Melville's comment on p. 238 runs: *It would certainly be very convenient to him [the narwhal] for a folder in reading pamphlets*. Another allusion to the dry world of books.

In chapter 35, *The Mast head*, Melville makes game of Scoresby's description of the protected crow's nest for the lookout man in the mast top. It has been introduced by Scoresby's father on whaleships in the Arctic sea to protect the lookout man against the Polar cold. He was evidently very pleased with his father's innovation and described it extensively in »An Account of the Arctic Regions«, volume II, pp. 203 205, and in the biography, »My Father, Being Records of the Adventurous Life of the Late William Scoresby Esq. of Whitby«.³ He always wrote *Father* with a capital to show respect to his domineering dad.

Melville parodies him in his description on page 254 of *Captain Sleet's crow's nest*. This worthy was master of the good ship GLACIER and author of the admirable volume, »*A Voyage among the Icebergs in Quest of the Greenland Whale and Incidentally for the Rediscovery of the Lost Icelandic Colonies of old Greenland*«. The invented title refers to the subject of the search for the disappeared Norwegian colonies in Greenland, a subject which was quite unimportant to whalers, but which had evoked Scoresby's interest, as shown in his work, »An Account of the

Arctic Regions». Melville ridicules the protected crow's nest unjustly. This contraption may have been superfluous in the tropical and subtropical seas visited by Melville, where the sperm whale was hunted, but it was a blessing for the look out man in his elevated post in the Arctic sea and a proof of the humane spirit of the Scoresbys.

Melville presumably based some of his tall stories on Scoresby's work. He probably imitates the scientific accuracy of this scientific whaling captain in his exaggeration of the dimensions of a whale in chapter 103, *Measurement of the Whale's Skeleton*. Melville maintains that he himself saw a sperm whale that measured exactly 85 to 90 feet (not very exactly!) in length. *Such a whale will weigh at least 90 ton*, he assures us. In this he correctly applies the well known rule of thumb that each foot of a sperm whale's length represents a weight of about one metric ton. According to genuine scientific handbooks, the sperm whale measures at most 60 feet and weighs at most 60 metric tons.

Melville also takes the story of the verdict regarding the property rights in relation to a Greenland whale in chapter 90 from Scoresby's volume II, pp. 518–521, and he does not disguise the fact that he thinks the case ridiculous.

A Parallel to Melville's Satire

There exists an interesting parallel to Melville's attitude towards Scoresby. Professor A.P. Grové of the University of Pretoria, South Africa, has found the origin of the two whale poems of the noted poet in Dutch Afrikaans, Nicholas Petrus van Wyk Louw.⁴ Louw's short poems bear the titles, *The Narwhal* and *Svend Foyn*. The latter is one of the few non Norwegian poems regarding Foyn, the founder of modern, industrial whaling. Each of the two poems alternately contains a cool, scientific, and economic view and, in contrast, an emotional view of whaling. Grové proves with quotations that the source of Louw's poems was the unemotional, historical book of W.H.G. Palm, »Walvisschen en Walvischvaart«.⁵ An error by Palm was repeated by Louw and this convinces me that Grové is right. Palm calls the improver of Svend Foyn's harpoon gun *Captain Julsrud*, but Julsrud was no captain. He was the managing-director of Kongsberg Vaabenfabrikk in Norway, which manufactured whaling guns.

Though it is doubtful whether Louw was inspired by »Moby Dick«, just as Scoresby evoked Melville's liking for banter, Louw mocks the learnedness concerning whales in Palm's scientific, dry treatise.

My translation of Louw's *Svend Foyn* follows. The alternation of the two above mentioned views in this poem is indicated by typefaces: Palm's statements are printed in Roman letters, while Louw's ironic comments, charged with emotion, are printed in Italics.

Svend Foyn

Svend Foyn invented the harpoon gun
and mounted it on an iron pivot;
he then directed the harpoon at whales
*(oh, those soft softnesses, in that white
snow sea, snow surf,
oh, those soft islands of blood)*

But then that iron pivot had no spring,
so often it broke down
(oh, snow, is it not good!)
from the shock of that speared gun
(oh snow, is it not good, that iron pivot!)

And then the other Norwegian, Captain Julsrud,
 had shifted a *dear, tender recoil* mount
 under that steel thorn; and
 (*snow, snow, my snow, cover it all!*)
set silent force against soft blood.

N.P. van Wyk Louw
 from »Tristia« (Amsterdam 1962)

The Dutch as a Target of Melville's Satire

In the irony he levelled at the Dutch, Melville followed the example of the British and American authors of his time. In 17th and 18th century Britain there was a hatred of the Dutch as maritime and commercial competitors. This anti Dutch sentiment was often tied to *the murder of Amboina* in 1623, when, on the spice island of Amboina, the Dutch East India Company ordered the execution of some Englishmen, who had been accused of high treason, but who were considered innocent according to public opinion in Great Britain. Towards the end of the 18th century British hatred of the Dutch turned into contempt as a result of the decline in Dutch shipping and commerce, fisheries and whaling. This decline, in quality as well as in quantity, was especially evident in the chartered East India and West India Companies and in the whaling industry. Some contemporary authors wrote disparagingly of the naval officers of the East India Company, whose personnel numbered increasingly more foreigners and deteriorated in quality.

In volume II of »An Account of the Arctic Regions« William Scoresby, jr. wrote with compassion not only about Dutch whaling but about Dutch naval power as well:

From being one of the most enterprising and intrepid nations in the world, they, through the dissolution of their unanimity by the presence and influence of French soldiery, and the consequent introduction of French principles among them, have greatly degenerated in public spirit and commercial talent. Hence, of late years, their energies have been relaxed and they have been unable to keep pace with the improvements which have been adopted in the art of the fishery by the British and their success has in consequence been much inferior. (p. 146) This remark was probably well noted by Melville.

The Scot, J.R. McCulloch, refers in his »Dictionary, Practical, Theoretical and Historical, of Commerce and Commercial Navigation«⁶ to the French domination of the Netherlands from 1795 until 1813 as an explanation for the decline of Dutch whaling: *The war [between Britain and the Netherlands] entirely annihilated that [whalefishery] of the Dutch.* According to McCulloch, this war probably contributed more to the rise of British whaling than the subsidies granted by the British government to British whaleship owners. This excuse for the decline of Dutch whaling is not entirely valid, however, for the decline had set in twenty years before the French domination of the Netherlands started the British blockade in 1795.

British pride and disdain of other seafaring nations grew with British naval power after the defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte, and concerned in the first place the Dutch as rivals who had dropped behind. This attitude was also adopted by North Americans. It is true that they were the strongest competitors of the British merchant marine in the first half of the nineteenth century and dominated the whaling industry, but they viewed the world abroad usually through British coloured spectacles because of their common language and the popularity of British literature in the United States.

Melville and other American authors poked fun at the Dutch as bragging cowards and good hearted, fickle small-burghers. See, for example, Washington Irving's »Diederick Knickerbocker's History of New York«, in which he mocks the snobbism of old New York families of Dutch descent. The Dutch are also parodied in the tales of Rip van Winkle and »The Legend of Sleepy Hollow«. Likewise, James Fenimore Cooper, in »The Pilot«, chapter 34, has as a protagonist an anti-British rebel, who says of the Dutch: *Had I but the moiety of the navy of that*

degenerate republic, the proudest among those haughty islanders [the British] would tremble in his castle.

Melville pokes fun at Scoresby and, over his head, at the Dutch, who are quoted several times by Scoresby as his source. Following Scoresby's example, Melville »quotes« from the works of learned men, who are his own inventions. In this group we find Dr. Zogranda, Fogo von Slack, Fitz Swackhammer, Doctor Snodhead, and Peter Peterson from Friesland. These appellations are deliberately chosen, for Melville liked to play with the sound of names. I hear in »slack« and »swack« the Dutch »zwak« (weak). Snodhead resembles Snorehead, Swackhammer stands for Swackhead, as Melville would not use »head« in two names on the same page.

He writes of the Eskimos in p. 405: *Zogranda, one of their most famous doctors, recommends strips of blubber for infants*. Melville praises the nutritional properties of finks of whale blubber, and tells us that among Dutch whalers the scraps of blubber are called *fritters* that greatly resemble the tasteful *old Amsterdam housewives' doughnuts or »oly cooks«*. Apart from *oly cooks*, this knowledge is derived from Scoresby's »Account of the Arctic Regions«, vol. I. pp. 475–476.

According to Harold Beaver, the editor of the Penguin edition of »Moby Dick«, p. 825, Zogranda is an anagram; William Thorpe thinks that Zogranda refers to Sangrado, *the Valladolid doctor to whom Gil Blas attached himself*. I fail to see, however, why Melville would have thought of Sangrado, who has no connection with whaling. I suppose that Melville had the Dutch commandeur (whaling captain) Cornelis Gijsbertus Zorgdrager in mind. This Dutchman was the author – or rather, one of the two authors – of the famous book, »Bloeyende Opkomst der Aloude en Hedendaagsche Groenlandsche Visschery«, a treatise on Arctic whaling which appeared in Amsterdam in 1720, was reprinted in 1727, and printed in a German translation at Leipzig in 1723.⁷

Scoresby quotes Zorgdrager on pp. 150, 168, and 169 of vol. II. The connection is strengthened by the reference to *the Dutch whalers* in the same paragraph in »Moby Dick« in which Zogranda is mentioned. Because some non-Dutch people would have difficulty in pronouncing the name Zorgdrager, Melville has presumably simplified it to Zogranda. In this way he mocks the British whaling captain and author, Scoresby, and his Dutch counterpart, Zorgdrager.

Several times Melville refers seriously, or quasi seriously, to the Dutch whaling industry, using Scoresby's rambling work. He elaborates in chapter 92, pp. 520–521, on Smeerenburg (Dutch for Blubbertown), the Dutch whaling settlement on Amsterdam Island of Spitsbergen. His alleged source is *the learned Fogo von Slack in his great work on smells, a textbook on that subject*. This is another humorous reference to Scoresby's standard work, volume II, pp. 143–144, which comments extensively on Smeerenburg. Scoresby's source for his description was »Nieuwe Beschryving der Walvischvangst«, volume I, a reprint of the anonymous work, »De Walvischvangst met Veele Byzonderheden Daartoe Betrekkelyk«⁸; the reprint is often referred to under the name of D. de Jong, one of the illustrators, not the author. Melville denies emphatically that the trying-out of fresh blubber, as was usually done in Smeerenburg, would have been malodorous. As an ex-whaler he could speak with authority; I agree with him.

Melville's quasi-serious remarks regarding the consumption of victuals on Dutch whaleships in chapter 101, *The Decanter*, pp. 556–558, are based on a table with specifications of victuals consumed which he found in Scoresby, volume II, pp. 151–152. Melville mentions as his source the work of Fitz Swackhammer, entitled *Dan Coopman*. Melville's invented friend, Dr. Snodhead, *a very learned man, professor of Low Dutch and High German in the college of Santa Claus and St. Potts*, explained to him that *Dan Coopman* does not mean *the cooper*, but *the merchant* in the Netherlands (p. 557).

It is true that Scoresby, on p. 151 of volume II, quotes the Amsterdam journal, »De Koopman«⁹, explained by him as *the Merchant* but the figures, referred to by Melville, are borrowed by Scoresby, not from »De Koopman«, but from the well-known Dutch reference work, »Tegenwoordige Staat der Vereenigde Nederlanden« (The Present State of the United Provinces).¹⁰ Scoresby attributes this work to the Amsterdam city councillor and historian, Jan Wagenaar (Scoresby, volume II, pp. 151–152).

Melville tells jokingly how he spent three days drawing up supplementary tables and calculating the consumption per Dutch harpooner of bread, cheese, fish, gin, and beer. On page 558 he reckons the consumption of beer as two tuns per Dutchman per voyage. He finds the Dutch consumption of cheese equally enormous, and their use of beer so much so that he thinks it improbable that the often bemused Dutch harpooners were able to hit the whales. *Yet, they did aim at them, and hit them too* he admits on page 558. He puts the crew of a Dutch whalship at thirty hands, or mouths, on the average, but this number dates from the seventeenth century; it was forty to fifty mouths in the eighteenth century, so he underestimates their number and overestimates the consumption of victuals per crew member considerably. He considers the old whale fishery to be a thirsty profession and in this he is right.

The German Whalemen

The Germans are also derided by Melville. In the nineteenth century the Germans participated in the South Sea whale fishery as the Americans, British, and French did. In chapter 55, *On the Monstrous Pictures of Whales*, Melville criticizes old illustrations of whales, among them the untruthful pictures in an alleged Dutch journal by Peter Peterson of Friesland, master, entitled *A Whaling Voyage to Spitzbergen in the Ship »Jonah in the Whale«*, dated 1671. This is a reference to a book by Friedrich Martens, a ship's surgeon of Hamburg, who published in Hamburg in 1675 *»Spitzbergische oder Gronlandische Reise Beschreibung, gethan im Jahre 1671«*.¹¹ Translations into English and Dutch appeared some years later. Melville consulted the English translation and maintains in *»Moby Dick«* that *the old Harris collection of voyages*¹², borrowed some inaccurate whale pictures from Peter Peterson's work.

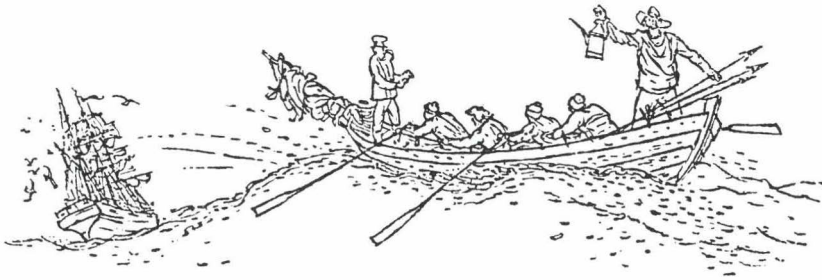
The Germans are the target of Melville's humor in chapter 81, *The Pequod Meets the Virgin*. A meeting is described between the PEQUOD and the ship JUNGFRÄU, Capt. Derick de Deer, master out of Bremen, as well as a race between the two crews after an old, decrepit sperm whale. The initially amicable meeting of the two crews changes into fierce rivalry. Of course the Germans miss the whale because of their incompetence and the alertness of the Americans: *At one time the greatest whaling people in the world, the Dutch and Germans are now among the least, but here and there ... you still occasionally meet their flag in the Pacific* (pp. 457-458).

Like many Americans Melville does not always make a distinction between the Dutch and the Germans, sometimes calling both nations *Dutch*. He depicts Derick de Deer and his crew as inexperienced, clumsy but conceited suckers. The men of the PEQUOD outwit the Bremen captain and appropriate the whale, but Melville draws the moral that dishonesty doesn't pay, when the dead whale sinks and is lost.

Thereafter, the JUNGFRÄU and her crew of *Dutch butter boxes*, as Melville calls them, ignorantly pursue a finwhale, a species of whale that was too fast and too wild to kill and which sank after death. Melville states on page 469 that *The Fin Back's spout is so similar to the Sperm Whale's that by unskilled fishermen it is often mistaken for it*. Here he is mistaken, however, for the spouts of these two species are clearly different: the spout of the baleen whale, among them the finwhale, rises vertically, that of the spermwhale moves horizontally because the blow hole is situated on the foreside of the head, not on the top. Melville concludes this chapter ironically: *Oh, many are the Fin Backs and many are the Dericks, my friend!*

Melville's satire of the Bremen whalers also applies to the Dutch efforts to restore their whaling industry in the nineteenth century and to participate in the South Sea fishery. Dr. F.J.A. Broeze published a paper on these efforts, entitled *»The Dutch Quest of Southern Whaling in the Nineteenth Century«*.¹³ He is the first Dutchman to comment on chapter 81 in *»Moby Dick«* and he points out that Melville's satire is aimed at the Dutch as well as the Germans. It is possible that Melville, while whaling, met Dutch as well as German whalships.

In note 14 of his article, Broeze refers to the name of the first whalship which sailed from Bremen for the South Sea fishery in 1836-38. It was named VIRGINIA and the captain was a Ger



Captain Derick De Deer wants to borrow oil. From: Herman Melville: Moby Dick. Der weiße Wal. Illustrationen von Herbert Pridöhl, (Berlin, Darmstadt: Deutsche Buchgemeinschaft, 1954)

man, J.D. Krudop. By sheer coincidence, or perhaps not, Derick de Deer's ship in »Moby Dick« is named THE VIRGIN, in German DIE JUNGFRAU. At the meeting with the PEQUOD, the VIRGIN is indeed virginal, being empty and »clean«, that is without any catch. The historical VIRGINIA, however, did well on the first voyage. For this reason Broeze thinks Melville's satire of the Germans partly unjustified.

Yet I have doubts regarding the ability of some German whalemens. I read in a book by the German whaling historian, Miss Wanda Oesau, »Die Deutsche Südseefischerei auf Wale im 19. Jahrhundert«¹⁴ a remark that makes me wonder. She writes on page 17: *Im Journalbuch des Bremer Schiffes »Alexander Barclay« ... 15. Okt. 1845 »8 Uhr Vormittags liesz sich ein Gebläse sehen 2 Schaluppen wurden zur Verfolgung ausgeschildt, kehrten aber in 1 Std. zurück, indem sie einen Finnfisch fanden.«* (In the logbook of the Bremen whaleship »Alexander Barclay« ... 15 October 1845, 8 o'clock a.m. a sperm was seen; two whaleboats were sent out to pursue it, but they returned after an hour because they found a finwhale.) So the lookout-man and the captain of this vessel made the same mistake as Derick de Deer when he went after a finwhale. It is true that the old whalers also pursued the right whale, another baleen whale, but this animal can be clearly distinguished from the finwhale by its double spout, whereas the finwhale shows a single spout. Regarding Dutch South Sea whalers, Broeze confirms that they were generally unsuccessful, on account of their lack of ability and experience.

There is little humor to be found in whaling, which is a serious, cruel craft. But Melville's genius instills a spark of gay humor even in his grim story of a possessed whaling captain.¹⁵

Footnotes:

- 1 Pagination from the Penguin edition of »Moby Dick«, edited by Harold Beaver. (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1972).
- 2 Howard Vincent: The Trying Out of Moby Dick, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1949), p. 133.
- 3 William Scoresby: My Father: Being Records of the Adventurous Life of the Late William Scoresby, Esq. of Whitby. (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1851).
- 4 A.P. Grové: Twee Walvisgedigte van N.P. Van Wyk Louw, in: Standpunte, vol. 21, Nr. 5, 1 (Pretoria, S.A., June 1968), pp. 18–21.
- 5 W.H.G. Palm: Walvischen en Walvischvaart, (Amsterdam; Antwerpen, 1947), pp. 33, 147.
- 6 J.R. McCulloch: Dictionary, Practical, Theoretical and Historical, of Commerce and Commercial Navigation, (London, 1854), p. 1403.
- 7 Cornelis Gijsbertus Zorgdrager: Bloeyende Opkomst der Aloude en Hedendaagsche Groenlandsche Visschery, (Amsterdam, 1720).
- 8 De Walvischvangst met Veele Byzonderheden Daartoe Betrekkelyk, (Amsterdam & Harlingen, 1784–1786).

- 9 De Koopman, vol. IV (Amsterdam, 1773), pp. 204–208.
- 10 Tegenwoordige Staat der Vereenigde Nederlanden, (Amsterdam, 1739), vol. I, pp. 151–152.
- 11 Friedrich Martens: Spitzbergische oder Gronlandische Reise Beschreibung, gethan im Jahre 1671, (Hamburg, 1675).
- 12 John Harris: *Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca: or, a Compleat Collection of Voyages and Travels ...* 2 vols. (London: Thomas Bennet, John Nicholson, and Daniel Midwinter, 1705).
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